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men passing under their names had learnt the art. 754
They furiously denied that they had come overnight 539
and were the more perplexed to see their special signatures on *sal*-leaves. "The marks are ours but they are forged," they protested..... All could easily guess who had tricked them thus. Maraṅ Burn in his anger said, "The women cheated me too as if I were a child. Put your own marks, I shall see these women."..... Then the deity taught them the craft [756]
of the Witch-doctor as a counteracting factor to the Witch-craft learnt by women.

So it is, the early fathers of the Santals say, 754
that there has been going on a ceaseless war between 756
the Witches and the Witch-doctors known as *Ojhas* 791
and *Jan gurus*. But in the tussle, the exorcists are [776]
frequently worsted because the witches ally themselves with the *Boṅgas* (evil-spirits) by bribing them with all the sweets of life. It is no wonder therefore that wrong persons are sometimes mentioned in the Witch-doctor's "Tel-pat" (*a sal*-leaf, moistened with oil), where the real self of the Witch ought to be reflected, and innocent persons are named therein by the witches in collusion with the evil-spirits.

The Santal traditions say that Witch-craft and [173]
the cult of the Witch-doctor are attributed by some to 'Kamru-Guru' i.e. people versed in the arts at Kamrup, whose disciples the early Santals became.

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Ojha will take the fowl through his legs with a swinging movement of his body thrice round the bed of the patient. After this, he will require a wick with oil and on it he pours some incense and as he goes round the patient, he does the same. Next, the *Ojha* takes the fowls and offers them to the god of the disease and to the presiding deity of the *Ojha* himself. All these he will do outside the village. Next, after taking the sacrificed fowls, the *Ojha* will go home."

Thus the *Ojha* (Witch-doctor) is a person who has the power of *mantras* to waste away the evil-influences applied to men or women by *Dàns* or *Nañjòms*. To be perfect in his craft, he has sometimes to be in league with the witches. There is another class of men called "Sakha" in Mayurbhanj, who serve as sorcerers. They can test fortune by lots and can indicate who is a witch and has brought illness in a person or animal.

The orthodox witch-finder is called "Jan-Guru". There are two methods of training in the art. The first method requires the pupil eager for such a training, to place himself under a "Jan-Guru" as a *chela* (pupil). Then the *Guru* tells him the names of the *Boñgas*, the process of worship and how to exercise the power of a "Jan-Guru." The pupil practises the lessons for some days, and when the *Boñgas* are pleased, he becomes successful

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791 and is then called a "Jan-Guru". As regards
776 the second method, it is stated that there are several
[787] *Guru Boṅgas*. The man who is devoted to them and has faith on them sees them coming to him in dreams. He then knows that the *Boṅgas* are pleased
[782] with him and want his worship. If the pupil likes it, he offers vermilion and *dhup* (incense) in the names of the *Boṅgas*, he saw in his dream. The *Boṅgas* again appear before him in dreams and tell him of their powers and ask him to worship them. With the series of *Boṅgas* thus appearing before him, the pupil becomes *Koñka* (puzzled). He then goes to the *Boṅgathans* (the places where the *Boṅgas* live) and remains there for some days. He talks with the spirits and they assure him that whenever he remembers them, they will be at his beck and call and tell him whatever he wants to know. Thus getting his boon, the pupil returns home and continues to worship the *Boṅgas* and practise his power.

Conclusion

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[171] Magic and witch-craft are an essential part of the belief of most of the Hinduised tribes and the pre-Dravidian people resident in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Although it cannot be vouched for a
[177] certainty as to whether the Santals borrowed it
[174] wholesale from the Hindus, there is some internal

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756 knowledge of herbs as well as the mysterious processes of evil caused by malevolent natural or human agencies and profess to cure the Santal of his daily ailments [755] and afflictions. Thus magic ritualism is the speciality [789] of Santal society and centre of the individual's life, whereas the religious ceremonials are more or less communal group affairs. The complicated cross section of 756 793 the Santal belief would be well studied in the functional 754 differentiation of the communal priest, the Ato naeke, 791 his assistant, Kudam naeke, and Dehri (hunt-priest), the herbalist medicine-man, the Bonga-doctor or Ojha and the witch-detector or Jan-guru.

Different types of religious functionaires, medicine-man, etc.

Amongst the Santals working in the Daminiko area where they are closely concentrated, it was curious to notice many functionaries named as Ojha, Janguru, Kamruguru, Raranic, Ato-Naike, Kudam Naike and Dehri. The Santal carefully draws a distinction between the officers of his social ceremonials, the high priests of the community and the specialists who may be described in modern terms as the practising physicians and the mental disease experts, the last of course not being psychopathists but masters of spiritualist seances. The sorcerer who practises evil eye and witchcraft is also sharply distinguished.

756 Studying the other allied tribes nearby we find 793 mostly a distinction between the social functionary in 754 charge of religious festivals sharply distinguished 171 from the spirit-doctor generally possessing second sight. [192] The term for the priest is Naya amongst the Birhors and Pahan amongst the Mundas and Oraons. The word Naya as also Naike may have some connection with the

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539 Buru but Marang Buru did not detect the imposture and taught them witchcraft. After their return however their husbands came back to their senses and they at once went to Marang Buru to learn witchcraft. Marang Buru said "I taught it all to you this morning, what makes you come again." They were astonished at this and protested that they had not been to him at all that morning. Marang Buru said, 'Then you must have told your wives what I forbade you.' They gave an answer in the affirmative. Marang Buru then taught the science of *Ojhaism* and *Jan* in order that they might have some advantage over their wives, and be able to overawe them. This is why only women are witches and men are Ojhas and *Jan-guru*."

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754 Women, who are witches, of several neighbouring villages meet under some trees in a secluded place at some distance from human habitation generally on a Sunday at dead of night of a new moon. There, it is said, they strip themselves of their clothes and wear only the fringes of old brooms made of wild grass suspended from a girdle round their waists. Thus arranged the naked women hold the witches' dance. They have their peculiar secret songs and mantras, perform sacrifices and also try to kill people by magic very much in the same way as the old witches of Europe. It is particularly on the night of *Amawasa* (new moon), in the month of Kartic (October-November) that these witches' dances are celebrated with special eclat. Large companies of witches, it is said, move about that night and people are afraid of stirring out of their houses at a late hour that night. New girls are initiated on that night into the

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by bongas are called in. There is no female Shaman as the female with supernatural power is always looked upon as wicked, malevolent and is persecuted as a witch. So it is to pit his higher knowledge against the wicked machinations of the witches that the *Jan guru* or *ojhas* are called who thus are important social functionaries curing individuals of their constant depression due to fear of sorcery and the evil eye or acting as village mental sanitation officials. Thus these Santal medicine-men, soothsayers and masters of incantations have to work hand in hand with the chiefs.

The name *ojha*, which the Santal uses, is not a Santal word; it is a Hindi word, used for diviner, enchanter, sorcerer, magician, etc. The word is derived from Sanskrit. The Santal has borrowed this word from the Hindi-speaking people. Rev. P.O. Bodding is of opinion that the Santal has adopted this exorcism from the Hindi-speaking people. His argument in favour of it is that the work of a Santal *ojha* in nature partly resembles that of the Hindu *ojha* and the special *bongas* invoked by the Santal *ojhas* all have names of Hindu origin in addition to their special *bongas*. But a tribe which believes so much in spirits (both malevolent and benevolent) must have some method of propitiation of those spirits as is usual among almost all the primitive tribes of the world.

The *ojha* is also a physician. The difference between the herbal doctors and the *ojha* lies in the fact that the former gives only medicine whilst the latter in addition to giving medicine tries to drive away the disease by magic incantations, etc., by the assistance of his special *bongas* whom he knows how to force to work.

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755 Then the *ojha* takes the leaf-wrapped charcoal and *atko* and whatever else he has used for making figures, etc., and wraps these things in a leaf-plate. Taking the leaf plate and the fowl in his hand the *ojha* walks out of the house of the patient without casting his look backwards. The people inside the house now take the two cups and throw the water after the *ojha* and quickly close the door. Followed by some of the village men the *ojha* goes straight to the forest or to some other place away [782] from that quarter. Here he sacrifices the fowl in the name of some *bonga* of the outskirts offering an invocation. Some kill the fowl and eat it forthwith while others sacrifice the fowl by wringing the fowl's neck. In this case, however, they do not eat it but leave it on the spot with some pieces of stone placed over it. The last procedure is the most common. The *ojha* after having done all this returns to the house of the patient where he brings down oil and vermilion. He makes some mark in the courtyard with vermilion, at the same time making a vow of offering sacrifices to some special *bonga* of his when the patient recovers.

• 791 **The Jan guru or the Witch-Ditector:** The word *Jan* is not a Santal word; it is borrowed from a Hindi word meaning 'to know', *i.e.*, he is the man who knows by revelation. People pronounced by the *Jans* to be witches are taken as witches by the Santals. Whether they really find them out or the whole thing is a hoax, the Santals believe that they find them out.

791 When in a family a man suffers from a disease, and 787 none can cure him, the patient or his relatives decide to carry the matter to a *Jan*. They always go in a crowd to the *Jan*. They are, as a matter of course, a

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couple of men representing the patient, the husband and male relatives of some woman clearly suspected and a few villagers as witnesses. They go together and never lose sight of one another to prevent any one from secretly informing the *Jan* about their business. When they reach the *Jan's* village, they go to the village headman and ask him to introduce them to the *Jan guru*, a request which is always complied with The headman then asks them to bring the following things, necessary for divination :

(1) One betal nut, (2) one sal-leaf cup, (3) some adwa rice, (4) mustard oil, (5) vermilion, (6) resin of the sal tree, and (7) some leaves of the bael tree (Aegle Marmelos).

On the appointed time they come to the *Jan* who transacts his business with them either in his own house, or in the Jahersthan, or somewhere outside the village.

The *Jan* puts down some adwa rice in a number of places in the name of different *bongas*, puts along side all these, heaps of bael leaves and finally, having mixed the oil and vermilion, puts that oil-mixed vermilion in front of the rice. He then throws resin on burning charcoal blows shakuas, sounds the *bongas* bell and worships his *bongas* (they have adopted these things from the Hindus). Then the *Jan* begins to utter incessantly incoherent words. He then tells the name of the place where from they have come, then, the name of the village, the description of the village, the name of the headman of the village, the name of the person who is sick and that of his relatives. At this they are convinced of the proficiency of the *Jan* and

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tell him 'Now let us hear the oracle'. The *Jan* then takes his fee which is a rupee and tells them the name of a *bonga* or a witch who is at the bottom of their troubles.

Then they return to their village. If the *Jan* says that a *bonga* is giving the trouble then the patient will promise sacrifice. If the *Jan* declares any woman to be a witch, this woman is harassed in every possible way, fined and driven out of the village, and at times killed.

At present the *Jans* are, according to Santal belief, not like the old righteous ones. The *Jans* of ancient time got their knowledge through dreams at night or through visions in the daytime, not possessed by a divination spirit like *Jans* of the present day. Now-a-days the *Jans* keep informers who find out and tell them all particulars. *Jans* of to-day are very careful in fixing the blame. They generally fix the blame on some *bonga* or other in preference to a witch.

Classification of the supreme, superior and supernatural beings: It is very difficult to attempt a classification of the orders of the supernatural beings which constitute the religious belief of a community. The classification would often imply the existence of a notion of hierarchy of the supernatural beings, one being far superior to the rest. It is curious to observe that this supreme being is never worshipped in the faith that he can never work out any evil. As for the rest the rank may be determined in the order in which worship is offered to them. But here again the difficulty would lie in the fact that a particular occasion would demand predominance being given to particular spirits. Thus the classification would be more or less a division in parallel lines, for it